

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104951 TOSEC 040096

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, FS, XA

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE

REF: SECTO 4008, PARA 8

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO - MAYNES

1. BACKGROUND:

THE 31ST UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED A RESOLUTION WITHOUT
OBJECTION TO HOLD AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA IN 1977. ALTHOUGH WE PARTICIPATED
IN THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION, WE JOINED THE
BRITISH IN RESERVING OUR POSITION ON THE POLITICAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFERENCE, ITS TIMING AND THE
POSSIBILITY OF OUR PARTICIPATION.

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THE "UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE
OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA," AS IT IS NOW BEING CALLED,
WILL BE HELD IN MAPUTO FROM MAY 16-21 UNDER THE JOINT
SPONSORSHIP OF THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND THE UN
COMMITTEE OF 24 (THE DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE). THE
OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO "MOBILIZE WORLD-WIDE

SUPPORT FOR AND ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE
AND NAMIBIA IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION
AND INDEPENDENCE."

INVITATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO GOVERNMENTS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR OF KEY UN COMMITTEES CONCERNED WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA. FROM THE START, THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE GERMANS WERE RELUCTANT TO ATTEND. IN FACT, THEY TOLD US THEY WOULD NOT ATTEND, THE BRITISH IN PARTICULAR BEING FEARFUL THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE LIKELY TO:

-- ENDORSE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THEREBY EMBARRASSING THE US AND UK AND COMPLICATING RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS;

-- ENDORSE ARMED STRUGGLE AS THE ONLY MEANS TO RESOLVE THE NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA PROBLEMS, AND;

-- CRITICIZE THE WEST FOR ITS POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE US, HOWEVER, AT AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S STRONG URGING, DECIDED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE. OUR REASONING WAS:

-- ATTENDANCE WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY AT THE UN TO WORK CLOSELY WITH AFRICAN DELEGATIONS ON PROPOSALS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

-- WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFERENCE.

-- MODERATE AFRICAN LEADERS URGED OUR ATTENDANCE, SUGGESTING THAT IT WOULD HELP TO MODERATE THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

-- IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO THE AFRICANS OUR INTENTION TO WORK CLOSELY IN ALL FORUMS ON THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

-- IT WOULD SIGNAL TO SOUTH AFRICA OUR DETERMINATION TO SEE CHANGE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR DECISION, THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMANS RELUCTANTLY DECIDED TO ATTEND. SINCE THAT DECISION, THERE HAVE BEEN CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK ON HOW BEST TO APPROACH THE CONFERENCE. USUN'S 1435

AND 1436 DESCRIBE THE RANGE OF VIEWS AMONG WESTERN ATTENDEES. THE DRAFT DECLARATION WE HAVE SEEN THUS FAR IS SEVERAL WEEKS OLD AND HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CHANGED CONSIDERABLY. THE DRAFT, WHILE NOT AS EXTREME AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN, IS UNACCEPTABLE IN ITS TREATMENT OF THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN QUESTIONS. WE DO NOT

YET KNOW, HOWEVER, WHAT MODERATING INFLUENCE WESTERN PRESENCE AT MAPUTO WILL HAVE AND HOW THE RESOLUTION WILL BE CHANGED TO ACCOMMODATE WESTERN VIEWS.

2. TALKING POINTS:

-- THE US DECISION TO ATTEND THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE WAS BASED ON OUR CONVICTION THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO WORK WITH THE AFRICANS ON ISSUES OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO AFRICA. THE WEST SHOULD NOT SHY AWAY FROM EXPRESSING ITS VIEWS IN AVAILABLE FORA; MOREOVER, WE SHOULD NOT LEAVE THESE FORA EXCLUSIVELY TO THE RADICAL NON-ALIGNED
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AND THE COMMUNISTS.

-- WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE EVEN THOUGH WE DO HAVE ASSETS: OUR ATTENDANCE (PERHAPS AS MANY AS 18 OUT OF 90 PARTICIPANTS WILL BE FROM THE WEST) WILL STRENGTHEN THE MORE MODERATE AND RESPONSIBLE AFRICAN LEADERSHIP. MOREOVER, OUR ATTENDANCE WILL BE APPRECIATED BY THE MODERATE LEADERSHIP.

-- THUS, EVEN IF THE FINAL DECLARATION IS NOT ACCEPTABLE, IT WILL PROBABLY BE BETTER THAN HAD WE NOT ATTENDED AND PERHAPS MAY EVEN AVOID ENDORSEMENT OF VIOLENCE.

-- IT IS TOO EARLY NOW TO DECIDE ON DETAILED TACTICS. OUR STRONG INCLINATION WILL BE TO AVOID DETAILED NEGOTIATION, POINTING OUT OUR POSITION ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE IN STATEMENTS DURING THE CONFERENCE AND PERHAPS IN SUMMATION.

WE COULD STRESS THAT WHILE WE DO NOT AGREE WITH ALL ELEMENTS OF THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION, OUR PRESENCE AT THE CONFERENCE ILLUSTRATES OUR SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS (CANADA, THE SCANDINAVIANS) WILL LIKELY BE ACTIVE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TEXT.

-- AT THIS POINT, OUR BEST MOVE WILL BE TO CONSULT CLOSELY AT MAPUTO BOTH ON TACTICS AND SUBSTANCE. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD STATE THEIR POSITIONS CLEARLY AND BE PREPARED TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM ANY DECLARATION, OR PARTS OF A DECLARATION, WITH WHICH
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THEY DO NOT AGREE. THE AFRICANS UNDERSTAND THAT
WESTERN INITIATIVES OFFER THE BEST PROSPECT OF
BRINGING ABOUT A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER IN RHODESIA
AND NAMIBIA.

3. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:GBHELMAN; CLEARED BY S/S:RPERITO
AF:WEDMONDSON; APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES.

CHRISTOPHER

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